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SOCIAL LIVING, VERSION 2.0
AN ETHNOGRAPHY OF THREE NEW DANISH RESIDENTIAL COMPLEXES

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Social life in new complexes reflects the rise of the sharing economy; residents share meals, fitness centres, and lawnmowers, but also identity. Architecture plays a significant role here as an icon constituting, but possibly also enclosing, these designed communities.

Residential spaces have played a key role in the building of the welfare state, promoting certain ideals and practices of how to live with one another. From the large-scale housing projects of the advent of the welfare state till present-day, more individualistic residential spaces, architects have moulded social norms and ideals in bricks and mortar, concrete and glass. But the welfare state and its communities are changing: Today there is a significant trend towards segregated neighbourhoods that is often considered a threat to the social coherence of the welfare society.[1] There also seems to be a longing for small-scale communities within the various residential complexes and neighbourhoods.[2] Here, virtual spaces and social media offer new possibilities for interaction and community building among neighbours. To better understand these phenomena and how they are reflected and interpreted in current architecture, in this article I shall explore three new residential complexes designed with an emphasis on social living. The objective is to investigate the interplay between the physical and the social by analyzing what kind of social life is promoted in such new residential complexes, and how this community relates to the surrounding society.

The three cases are new residential projects in the Copenhagen Region: The A-house by architect Carsten Holgaard (2010), the 8-house[3] by BIG (2010) and Lange Eng (The Long Meadow) by Dorte Mandrup (2009). None of them are average new Danish housing; on the contrary all have been celebrated for their visionary architecture and have been subject to considerable public and professional attention; hence, I see them as expressing contemporary ideals worth examining. Each in its own way reflects a vision of a small-scale community, with common rooms and shared facilities and activities for residents exclusively. In this article, I argue that they may be understood as designed communities, and outline some common traits in their social visions and social life, focussing especially on the significance of virtual fora, architectural "brandscapes," and diversity in designed communities.

The methodological basis of the article is ethnographic fieldwork conducted in and around the three cases from January to August 2012. The fieldwork consisted of qualitative interviews, participant observation in the three case buildings, and gathering of relevant documents. The interviews were with residents and other users—shop owners, neighbours, and passers-by—as well as with professionals involved in shaping the places: building owners, developers, planners, architects, and real estate dealers. Sixty-five interviews of one to two hours each were undertaken. I also rented and lived for four to six weeks in each of the three buildings to observe and participate in everyday life and social activities such as communal eating, yoga classes, general meetings, parties, work days for residents, and interaction on their virtual fora.

In the following analysis, I shall give a brief description of the three cases focussing on the notions of social living and sharing what they have in common in spite of their many differences. Next, I concentrate on the meaning and impact of virtual fora—how they are used and how they interact with the built environment. Then, I introduce the concept of designed communities and discuss this in relation to concepts of architectural brandscapes and gated communities, before the concluding remarks.

Social living and convenient sharing

The idea of designing for a more social way of living exists in all three cases, though in rather different ways. The A-house, situated on Islands Brygge in the Copenhagen Harbour, is a refurbished industrial building now functioning as a serviced complex with 180 flats. When the developer purchased the building the aim was to turn it into exclusive, private, New York-style loft condos, but during the refurbishment process, the financial crisis hit the Danish housing market and it became difficult to sell high-end private flats. The house was therefore turned into a serviced complex where residents share common facilities—courtyard, fitness centre, café, wine cellar, and rooftop terrace—in much the same way as a hotel. A few of the flats have been sold; the rest are now rented out to short- or long-term residents who need a temporary place to stay in Copenhagen. The other two cases are owner-occupied and contain a mixture of flats and townhouses. The 8-house in Ørestad is designed and branded as a "modern mountain village" consisting of 476 townhouses, apartments, and penthouses integrated in one giant building with the shape of a figure eight. A common path winds up along the façade, and in the centre of the complex the residents share a large community room in several storeys

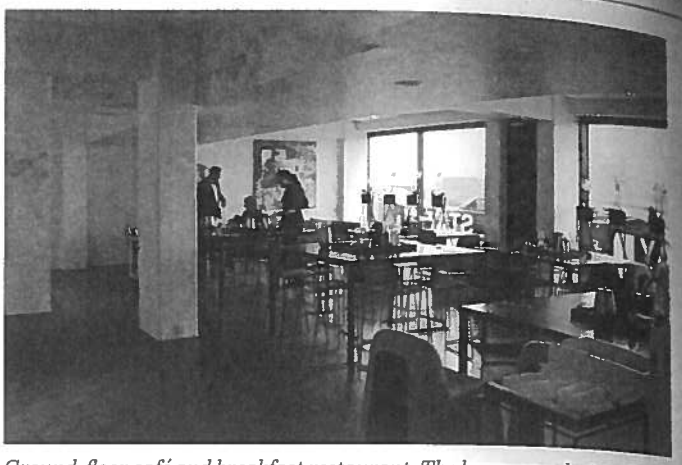
Townhouses, flats, and penthouses in the 8-house are piled on top of each other, creating a "mountain village" next to the preserved green area of Amager Fælled. BIG, 8-house, 2010, Ørestad.

Gate and public pathway. BIG, 8-house, 2010, Ørestad. All photos by Marie Stender.

Multi-storey community room. The 8-house has a community room in several storeys but it is on the virtual social platform, 8-book, that residents get to know one another. BIG, 8-house, 2010, Ørestad.

Harbourside view of the A-house. Carsten Holgaard, A-house, 2010, Islands Brygge.

Lange Eng has communal dining six days a week but many of the families prefer to bring the food to their private home as take-away. Dorte Mandrup, Lange Eng, 2009, Albertslund.



Ground-floor café and breakfast restaurant. The house was designed to be a "cosmopolitan commune" but is today used as a hotel. Carsten Holgaard, A-house, 2010, Islands Brygge.

with a rooftop terrace. Lange Eng in Albertslund is a co-housing scheme, where the residents have themselves been developers and building owners and thus deeply involved in translating their visions of community into architectural form. Here the fifty-four townhouses are arranged in a square shape around a common courtyard. In one corner, a common house contains kitchen, dining hall, café, cinema, and rooms for sports and other leisure-time activities.

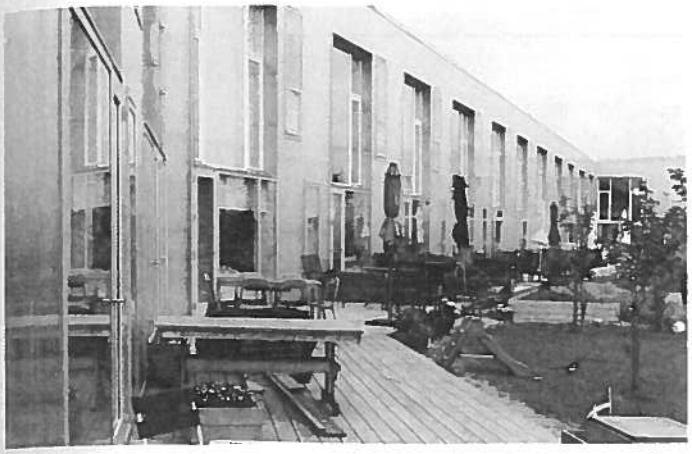
Though the three cases are very different in terms of concept, location, group of residents, etc., they share the idea of communal facilities forming the base for a community that is practical and convenient for the residents. Sharing facilities is seen, not as an alternative to the individual household, but rather as supporting and adding value to the daily life of individuals and families. Even in the co-housing project Lange Eng, where residents dine together six days a week, each housing unit also has a fully-equipped kitchen, as well as a private washing machine and tumble drier. In this respect, current social living differs from the advent of Danish communal housing in the 1960s and 1970s, where social living was mainly motivated by the quest for new social relations and new institutions, and communal living served as an important alternative to the standard nuclear family model.[4] In Denmark, the architect Jan Gudmund-Høyer and the feminist Bodil Graae were founders of the first generation of co-housing,[5] and Bodil Graae gathered interested families by writing a newspaper article with the title "Children Should Have Hundreds of Parents."[6]

While the collective lifestyle of the 1970s was fuelled by a critique of the nuclear family and a wish to create alternative forms of social organization, this is not the case for social living anno 2000, as also pointed out by sociologist Bella Marckmann in her study of Danish eco-communities.[7] Marckmann emphasizes that the raison d'être of current eco-communities is primarily their ability to support families in their hectic everyday lives. Like Marckmann's informants, the residents in Lange Eng stress that the community is based on the practical advantages of living together. Instead of buying groceries and cooking every day, they take turns in the communal kitchen. One is not obliged to eat in the dining hall, but can bring the food to the private home as takeaway, which is preferred by many of the families. The majority have small children and two careers and say they have chosen the co-housing scheme mainly to make life easier: to save time buying groceries and cooking, and to have playmates for the children next door as well as activities like soccer and yoga for grown-ups after the kids have been tucked in. Several also point to the economic benefits, such as sharing a lawnmower with neighbours rather than buying one.

The 8-house and the A-house have a lower percentage of families with young children than Lange Eng, but here, also, several informants point to the practical advantages of shared facilities. Architect Carsten Holgaard has often described the A-house as "a cosmopolitan commune." He explains that in developing this concept, they were inspired by some of the communal living of the 1970s, though their focus was on the practical rather than ideological aspects of living together:

> We thought there was something socially right about it ... of course we did not want a commune of the same kind as in the 70s, but there are some practical advantages of living together. We may all dream about a ten-room apartment that we cannot afford, but if 200 people live together then they might actually be able to pay for a reception room with a fireplace and a smiling butler, a library, a fitness centre or a wine cellar. But also simple services like cleaning, laundry and catering can become more sustainable and affordable by sharing.[8]

His vision is clearly inspired by what has been described as collaborative consumption and the sharing economy. Popular examples are shared cars and home-exchange services like Couchsurfing and Airbnb[9] where the Internet and social media are used as platforms of exchange rendering traditional distributors superfluous. In the A-house, though, the apartment hotel STAY is in charge of letting out the flats and there is no virtual platform connecting users. In spite of the shared facilities like courtyard, fitness centre, café, and rooftop terrace, the residents of the A-house did look slightly bewildered when asked whether they experienced the place as a cosmopolitan commune. Though the shape of the complex and its large, glass façades allow them to see into each other's flats across the courtyard, the social life of the place is characterized by anonymity and transient use. Most residents are staying tempo-



In Lange Eng only subtle boundaries delimit one terrace from another. Dorte Mandrup, Lange Eng, 2009, Albertslund.

rarily in Copenhagen for job purposes, and their mutual social interaction resembles that of a hotel rather than a commune.

In the 8-house the vision of a social life among residents was stated explicitly in the branding of the place, which highlighted architectural features like the common path and communal room. While some residents said they had chosen the place primarily for its cheap flats offering good views of the preserved, flat, green area of Amager Fælled, others told me the social aspect of the place was one of the main reasons they had chosen to settle here. Paul, a resident in the 8-house, interprets the house's 8-shape as supporting the residents' social life:

> It was built to support the social life among the residents ... I think that is evident from the architecture. It wouldn't be the same in a square block. But also the fact that we moved into something new is important ... that the social life was not already established—we had to create it ourselves and to be pioneers.

He has previously lived in a commune, and since moving in, has been devoted to making social life flourish in the 8-house. Various clubs and social activities have been established among the residents. Some meet for communal dining every fortnight, others—both in the 8-house and in Lange Eng—gather for yoga, jogging, photography, wine-tasting, children's parties, and other activities. Whereas a few of the residents, like Paul, relate this social living directly to the architectural design, the majority also see it as a matter of pioneer spirit, where residents are united in building up their common place and community. A fundamental aspect of this community-building is also the virtual fora, which facilitate residents' communication.

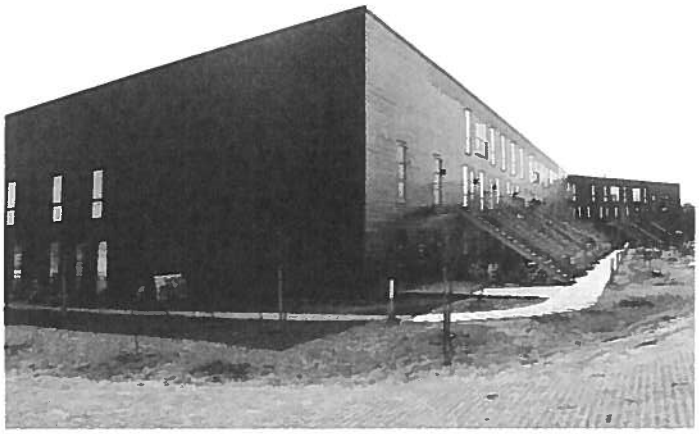
Virtual communities with physical boundaries

It has often been pointed out that the sharing economy thrives on the growth of social media, the Internet, wireless networks, and mobile phones.[10] These technologies allow people to connect across geographical locations, yet the very same technologies are also used to build and reinforce the ultra-local communities in my cases. In both Lange Eng and the 8-house the virtual spaces seem to be as important for the place's social life as the common rooms and facilities of the physical spaces. The title of this article, "Social Living," is thus also the name of a small web design company that has designed "8-book," the virtual social platform for residents of the 8-house. They have tracked the use of 8-book and explained to me in an interview:

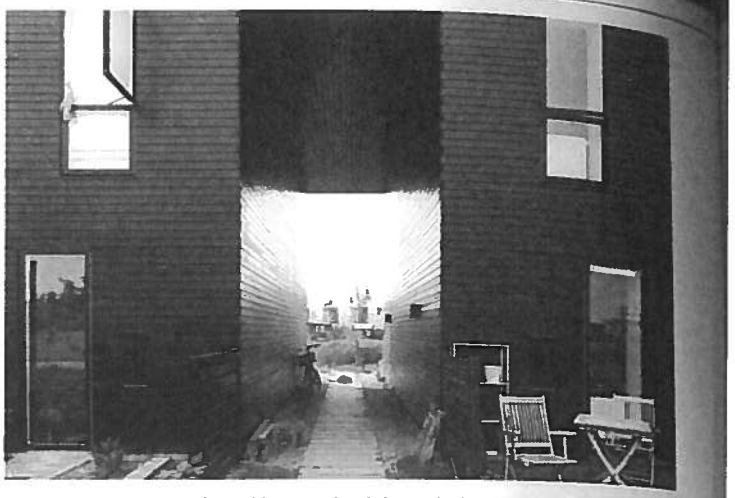
> It is very typical; a minority of the users create the majority of the content. But the others log on as well. An incredibly large share of them, actually: Ninety-seven percent of the flats have logged on, seventy-eight percent have posted a comment. Most of them only once, but the others are lurking—that is, they only look, but if it's something that has their interest, or if they have a problem, they will share it.

On 8-book—as well as on the Forum of Lange Eng—the residents exchange practical information and announce social activities. But the virtual spaces are much more than electronic notice boards. Much grumbling and agitated discussion takes place here as many residents apparently prefer venting their frustration with noisy or otherwise annoying neighbours in the virtual fora, to knocking on the door and confronting the culprit. Nevertheless, the virtual fora also reinforce social identification within the complex: The virtual space is also used in the same way as a village pond and a window mirror.[11] Here residents size each other up, and display personal profile pages, much like on Facebook, with photos and informal descriptions of their background, jobs, hobbies, family members, etc. Though a neighbour across the street may be physically closer than residents at the other end of the 8-house, they do not have access to 8-book nor, consequently, to the social activities taking place here.

The virtual fora can thus be compared to what anthropologist Kirsten Marie Raahauge has described as a tendency towards "invisibly gated communities."[12] She argues that in Denmark the boundaries delimiting one neighbourhood from another tend to be invisible and sociocultural rather than the physically gated communities[13] that are spreading in other parts of the world.[14] In the Danish neighbourhoods where she conducted fieldwork, residents met through clubs and associations, and the boundary to the surrounding society was only subtly demarcated through similar architecture, materials and plantation. But invisible gates are nevertheless a consequence of inward opening, she argues: "In this sociocultural gating no



Outward-facing façade of Lange Eng. Contrary to the typical Copenhagen perimeter block, the building turns "the back" outwards and "the face" towards the inner courtyard. Dorte Mandrup, Lange Eng, 2009, Albertslund.



Two narrow gates and a public path lead through the courtyard, but only few strangers have the courage to trespass. Dorte Mandrup, Lange Eng, 2009, Albertslund.

walls are needed. It is the social putty-clay that creates communities and invisible filters."[15] 8-book and Forum can be regarded as concrete—though virtual—versions of this invisible social putty-clay. They demonstrate Raahauge's point that the including tendency of the local community is also an excluding tendency, delimiting the community from its surroundings.[16]

The virtual fora, however, also add an important dimension— the local community is founded not only in physical proximity between neighbours, but also in the built complex as an entity of identity[17] that transcends the built space. In combination with the prevalence of smartphones that allow people to check email continually , the virtual space extends the social space of the built complex to a free floating community where neighbours can constantly be in touch. Though emails are not always read carefully, the flow of subject lines in the inbox alone— "Coconut milk wanted—now," "Is there an electrician in the 8-house?" or "I'm stuck in the traffic—can anyone pick up my kids from kindergarten?"—provides residents with constant impressions of each other's doings. In both Lange Eng and the 8-house residents say that the virtual fora add "soul" to the community, and in Lange Eng one resident made a sketch for their annual Christmas party by reading aloud twenty-four hours' flow of subject lines from Forum to portray a typical day in Lange Eng. In the 8-house the group of residents is much larger and more diverse than in Lange Eng and consequently, more conflicts and disagreements take place on the threads of 8-book. But even if the virtual fora can also expose and display the mutual differences and disagreements among the residents, they generate a community that is rooted in but not limited to the physical location of the built complex. Through mailbox and smartphone, the residents bring the community with them to work, on the freeway, and in the kindergarten.

The local community is thus delimited by invisible, social, and virtual boundaries that apparently supersede physical boundaries. Yet the invisible may also pave the way for the physical. One of the threads on 8-book thus mobilized residents against the vast number of tourists walking on the path when visiting the 8-house, and today parts of the path have been blocked by transparent, locked gates that only residents can open. Some of the residents argued strongly against this, as they thought it contrary to "the spirit of the place" and against the intentions of the architect. Nevertheless, the majority were convinced after someone posted photos of a large group of Japanese tourists standing right in front of their living room window. It was also argued that the many strangers strolling on the path ruined the residents' community. Though many initially liked the architect's idea of the path as a public street bringing urban life to the top of the building, the vision proved scarcely compatible with the residents' large windows and request for privacy.[18]

In Lange Eng the question of gating has also come up a few times, but the district plan requires the courtyard to be open to the public.[19] Furthermore, the number of visiting architectural tourists in Lange Eng is much lower than in the 8-house, and the architecture itself clearly delimits the boundaries of the community. The square-shaped building has a black and closed facade on the outside, and a bright, open, and transparent one on the inside. Whereas the square courtyard houses of Copenhagen's older neighbourhoods traditionally turn their "face" towards the street, and their "back" towards the courtyard, the opposite is true in Lange Eng: here, the private zones are located towards the outer facade of the building, while the double-height open kitchen-dining-living areas face the common green space of the courtyard. The representative zone with the home's best furniture and paintings is thus oriented inwards in the complex. It is also here that the residents built social relations, and identify with one another, as when this resident said of her home decoration: "I remember when we put up our lamps, then I sent a text message to Sophie [who lives right opposite—on the other side of the courtyard] and asked her if it looked cosy. And when she had put up bookshelves, I wrote her: 'Hey, that looks nice' [laughs]."

The emails, text messages, and intranet communication among residents add a layer to Lange Eng's physical space and knit together the community even further. The courtyard forms an enclosed and safe space where parents are confident to let even small children run freely, and every once in a while a message appears on Forum searching for a missing son or daughter. Though the two narrow gates of the complex have no doors and are in principle open for anyone, only a few strangers actually

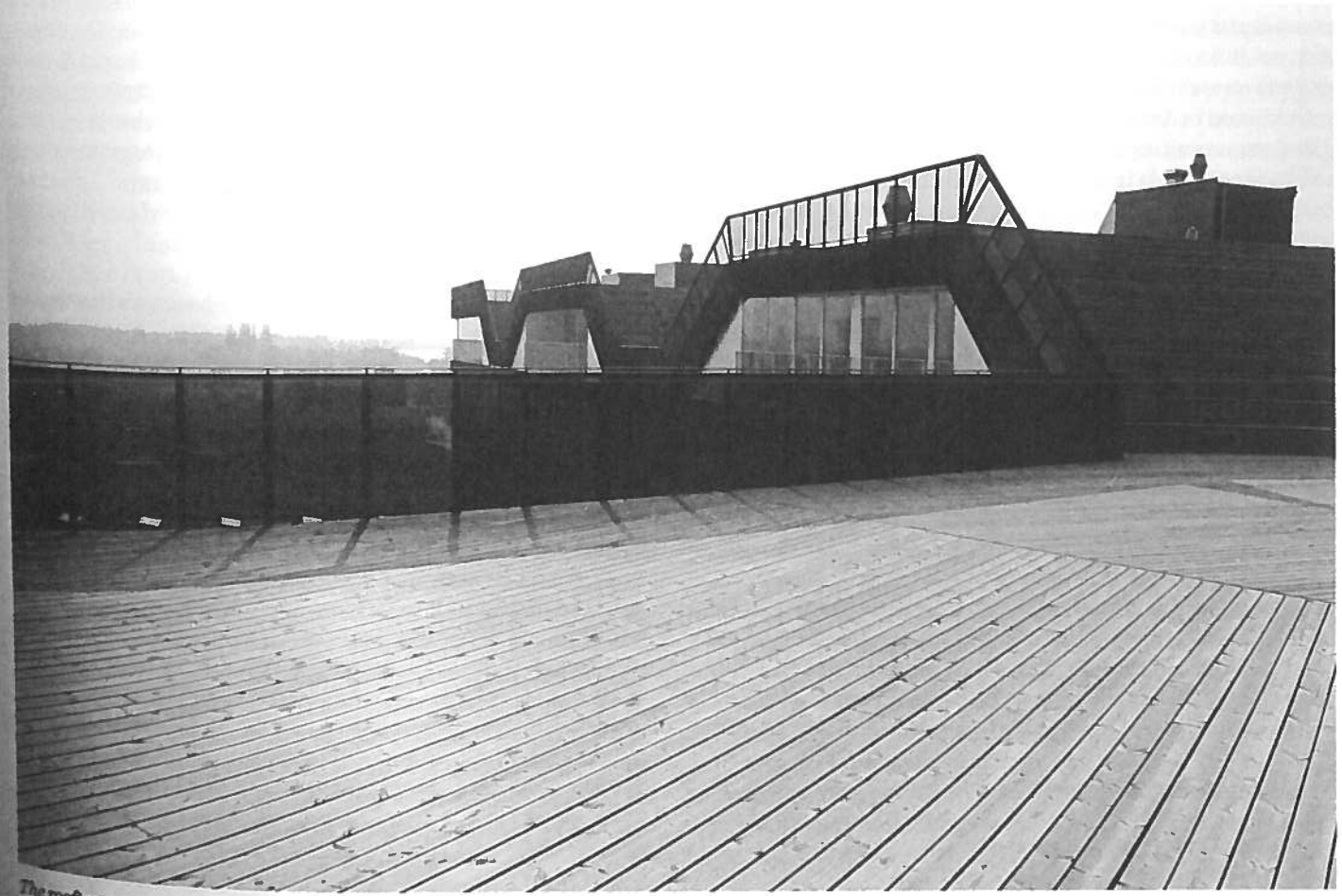
Lange Eng's courtyard forms a safe space where parents can confidently let even small children run freely. Dorte Mandrup, Lange Eng, 2009, Albertslund.

The residents of the 8-house soon became tired of architecture tourists, and today biking is prohibited and parts of the path have been blocked with locked glass gates. BIG, 8-house, 2010, Ørestad.

have the courage to trespass. When they do, their presence is immediately noticed and they are sometimes confronted by the residents. The residents tell humourous stories of how friends and visitors have perceived the place as an enclosed castle or mistaken it for an extension of the neighbouring prison. With Raahauge's notion of invisibly gated communities in mind, it seems relevant to reconsider whether, in these new residential complexes, we do see the rise of a Danish version of gated communities, where boundaries are not so invisible after all? I do, however, consider the term *designed communities* more appropriate than gated communities, as I shall now demonstrate.

Designed communities in architectural brandscapes

In the American gated communities studied by anthropologist Setha Low, residents find shelter behind tall walls with locked gates and private guards.[20] In my field the complex



The rooftop terrace of the A-house is a stage for events and film shooting, rather than a space where residents socialize. Carsten Holgaard, A-house, 2010.

Loft-style flat in the A-house. Traces of the industrial and creative past were preserved in the refurbishment of the house. Carsten Holgaard, A-house, 2010, Islands Brygge.

Wall of slippers in Lange Eng's common house. Dorte Mandrup, Lange Eng, 2009, Albertslund.

and the community are more much more subtly demarcated through invisible, virtual boundaries, transparent glass gates and pseudo-public spaces, where strangers are not really welcome. But it is not just the character of the gates and spaces that differs—even more important is the prevalent fear of violence and crime associated with public space among residents Low interviewed in American gated communities. According to her, gated communities thus build on and reinforce "a discourse of urban fear."[21] This is by no means the case in my field, where insecurity and fear of crime was never mentioned in relation to the residents' choice of where to live.[22] If fear was even an issue, it was only—and this goes particularly for Lange Eng—of settling in a neighbourhood where they had nothing in common with their neighbours and where people might not even say hello to one another. The residents I interviewed are not afraid of being attacked, but rather of being isolated behind the private hedges of suburbia.[23] To them, Lange Eng is a way of continuing the friendships, networks, and social life they know from dormitories, folk high schools, and urban residential blocks when establishing a family and moving out of the city. In the 8-house there are more diverse expectations of what kind of community to expect. Some seek an intimate village community, where people know each other well, while others prefer to have their social life elsewhere. Several residents expected that people who chose to settle in such a place—also due to the architecture—would probably be more "open" and "creative." Yet afterwards they did not always think this was the case; the discussions on 8-book had proven them wrong, as one woman said.

Both ethnographic studies and other types of housing research have often shown that people in Denmark and other Nordic countries tend to settle near those who resemble them culturally and socially.[24] According to anthropologist Marianne Gullestad, in Scandinavia, the notion of "fitting in" is necessary to becoming friends, good partners, or especially good neighbours.[25] According to Gullestad symbolic fences are created between the people who "fit in" and those who do not:

> Norwegian men and women want sameness, but in the process of creating sameness they indirectly organize symbolic fences between themselves and the people who are not considered the same. The symbolic fences are not primarily established for shutting someone out, but first and foremost to protect and preserve a social identity which is defined within a reference group.[26]

Gullestad's fieldwork in Norwegian neighbourhoods took place long before virtual communities and social media thrived in local communities, and it did not focus on new complexes with high-profiled architecture. Nonetheless, the architecture of my cases hand in hand with new technologies seems to mould and reinforce the social identities and symbolic fences described by Gullestad: They are not established to shut someone out, but to create and reinforce identity within a reference group. This identity is shaped within the boundaries of the complex, but is prolonged and extended beyond these , when residents cross the boundaries themselves.

When I suggest the term *designed communities*, it is thus to stress that social life and shared identity do not just evolve here among people who happen to live next to each other. Rather they are carefully designed—in Lange Eng firstly by the residents and afterwards by the architects, and the other way around in the other two cases. The architecture plays a key role here, not only because it contains and forms the local community, but also because it provides what architect Anna Klingmann has described as a brandscape.[27] Klingmann emphasizes that the focus of architecture in the experience economy has

evolved from an emphasis on "what it has" and "what it does," to "what you feel" and "who you are."[28] The notion of brandscapes merging architecture with strategic communication is obviously relevant in my cases. Seen from above, the buildings constitute simple, logo-like characters—the figure 8, the letter A—that are also integrated in their names. They seem to be architectural icons designed to be seen from Google Earth or architectural magazines as much as from the other side of the street. Even though Lange Eng does not form a figure or a character, like the other cases, the block does have a square shape that residents and neighbours have humorously nicknamed: "the black hippie square."

The perimeter block typology is the standard in the older areas of Copenhagen that most of the residents moved from, but foreign to the surrounding Albertslund. The architecture of the two other cases also differs from the surroundings. All three cases are not only frequently photographed for architectural magazines; the residents themselves also decorate both their private homes and communal rooms with photographs of the building. The iconic architecture holds a lot of identity for them, and in Ørestad, where the 8-house is located, residents tend to refer to the place they live by the building names—the 8-house, the Gate-house, etc.—rather than by the street names.[29] The architecture of these designed communities thus does not just provide space for social interactions; it also provides an important icon for a community that is located in the complex rather than the neighbourhood as such.

The virtual fora are key in creating this link between community and architecture as icon. Though conceived as primarily a practical tool, the virtual fora are also where the social identity of the place and its residents is negotiated. A common lingo thus gradually develops, and here the name and architectural shape of the built complex blends into the way residents address one another and name social activities, by referring to "the village" or "the meadow" or by integrating the number "8" or the name "Lange Eng" in various linguistic inventions. Lange Eng has various clubs and activities integrating the word "Lange" and residents sometimes call each other "Lange Engers." In the 8-house, residents may address each other as "8-ers" or "8-bookers" and meet for social activities, such as a photo club called "Aperture 8," where they take and exchange photos of their building and surroundings.[30] BIG's founder Bjarke Ingels' idea of the place as a mountain village also has been adopted by some of the residents, and in the basement of the 8-house, one resident has installed a workshop, and humorously calls himself "the village smith." While it is too early to say if the rich social life with clubs and activities will last or die out after the pioneer stage, evidently residents appropriate the brand and move into a common story just as much as they move into a house with common spaces.

Creating a common social identity is, however, never just a matter of shared symbols and sameness; it is also about differentiating from those outside of the community. Here the high-profile architecture also serves as a vehicle of social distinction. The polycarbonate inner facade, double-height living rooms, and small rooms of the Long Meadow undoubtedly have more appeal to some than others. There is also the whole concept of not having one's own garden, but sharing green spaces as well as other communal facilities. Even the ideal of social diversity itself is a characteristic of the creative class, as demonstrated by Richard Florida.[31] The paradoxical result is thus a rather homogenous group of residents who all value diversity. In the Long Meadow, most are young academics with small children, even though they actively tried to recruit residents of various ages and social backgrounds. Several express regret that in this they did not succeed, and the few who are middle-aged and have no kids now see themselves as a minority, as one woman explained: "When my husband and I first heard about the place, we were attracted by the fact that diversity was stated as a core value ... Only later did we realise that we were to be the diverse ones."

Whereas Lange Eng ended up with a more homogenous group than intended, the opposite is the case in the 8-house and the A-house. Both were designed and branded with the creative class in mind. But as the financial crisis occurred in the middle of the building process, prices for homes in the 8-house fell, and in the A-house apartments were let to a much more diverse crowd. During my fieldwork in the A-house, my neighbour thus turned out to be a war veteran from Libya on rehabilitation. The place has become cosmopolitan in a very different way than anticipated, and today the rooftop terrace and lounge areas are used as showrooms and stages for events and film shooting, rather than as everyday spaces where residents meet one another. It turned out that the market for exclusive New York-style loft flats was very limited, and that the vision of high-end communal living for the creative class proved hardly applicable in post-financial-crisis Copenhagen. The current residents probably have a rather different profile than the segment of the population the architect and building owner originally had in mind. Consequently, they do not always approve of the rough aesthetic of the place and traces of the building's industrial past. As the reception manager explained: "We call them New York lofts, but some of the residents are Indian Maersk-employees, and they tend to complain over the finish of the flats and that the ceiling has not been painted."

Some of the residents in the 8-house also said they have the feeling the place was designed for a different group of residents. The small ecological delicatessen that the developer had actively recruited to give the place a feel of urban life is not popular with all residents. One went there at Christmas to buy flour for gravy, but all they had was durum and spelt flour. As these anecdotes show, even designed communities are not easily designed. Though much effort is put into shaping the place and its social life by way of architecture, urban life, and virtual fora, unforeseen factors like turns in the market also shape the places and their social life.

Social living, version 2.0

In this article, I have analysed social life in three new residential complexes in the Copenhagen area. All three cases are attempts to create residential spaces out of the ordinary, representing architectural visions of a new kind of social living. This social living, version 2.0, as I have termed it, is characterized by an emphasis on shared facilities as a convenience in the everyday life of individuals and families rather than providing alternative forms of social organization as in earlier visions of social living. I have related this kind of social life to the rise of the sharing economy and the importance of the Internet and social media. Though architectural space constitutes the framework of these designed communities, virtual fora extend

them to free-floating communities that follow the residents wherever they are.

In both the 8-house and Lange Eng the virtual fora are the putty-clay that glues together the community. Even if the virtual fora also expose mutual differences and conflicts between residents, they serve as the village pond and window mirror, whereby residents can follow each other's doings. This inward opening goes hand in hand with an outer enclosing of the built complex, and I have therefore discussed whether this can be understood as a tendency towards invisibly gated communities. I have suggested the term *designed communities* as more appropriate for several reasons. Firstly, the gates of the new Danish complexes are rather subtle and invisible compared to the guarded gates of, for example, American gated communities. Secondly, the communities in my cases are by no means motivated by fear of crime or public space, but rather by a fear of settling among people with whom one has nothing in common. Thirdly, the fact that people in Scandinavia tend to settle among the like-minded is not new; what is changing is rather the way these communities are created and the way the social life and identity of the place is designed before it is built and people move in.

Architecture plays a new role here. Not only does it spatially contain the community, but it also by provides the community with an icon. All three cases stand out remarkably from the surrounding cityscape and can be seen as brandscapes merging architecture and graphic communication. By way of virtual fora, the iconic architecture blends into residents' language and their way of orienting themselves. They move into a story and a brand, rather than just a space where community may evolve over time among people living together: It is not about neighbours becoming friends, but about friends becoming neighbours. Though we do not have the gated communities prevalent in other parts of the world, the visions of the three places can be seen as representing the emergence of a new type of designed communities and new ways of segmenting space. In such complexes, social life does not just evolve among people who happen to share space. Rather, we currently seem to design spaces, brands, and identities that cater to certain types of communities, much as on the Internet and social media, where users increasingly do not see the same content, but receive only information and communication tailored for them. The architecture of these new residential spaces reflects but also recreates such social living, version 2.0. However, even if the places are designed with a certain social profile in mind, uncontrollable factors intervene in the process of shaping the complexes and their social life. The A-house and 8-house have ended up being more heterogeneous than planned, while Lange Eng has become more homogenous.

1 Cf. Lars Olsen, *Det delte Danmark* (Copenhagen: Gyldendal, 2005) and Hans Skifter Andersen, "Er indvandrernes bosætningsmønster et samfundsproblem?" *Dansk sociologi* 4(18) (2007).

2 Claus Bech-Danielsen, "Kunsten at klinke en forstad" in *Fremtidens forstæder*, ed. Kim Dirkinck-Holmfeld et al. (Copenhagen: Bogværket, 2013); Kirsten Marie Raahauge, "Ved vejen—i komplekset: Om det globale, det lokale og det materielle," *Dansk sociologi* 4(18) (2007).

3 In Danish the building is called "8-tallet" meaning "The figure 8."

4 Bertil Egerö, *Puzzling Patterns of Co-housing in Scandinavia* (2014), http://www.kollektivhus.nu/pdf/Bertil%20Lidewij%20article%20corr%20aug%2014.pdf. The design of communal living has a strong utopian architectural and social engineering tradition in Scandinavia, especially Denmark and Sweden. However, in Sweden the history of social living is slightly different than in Denmark. Here the concept "kollektivhus" (literally "collective building") was launched in the 1930s, and the aim was to reduce women's housework in order for them to be able to retain gainful employment even when they married and had children. In the 1980s, this early type of "kollektivhus" was replaced by a new type based on residents working together, but the concept "kollektivhus" was maintained, this time focusing on a sense of community and cooperation between residents.

5 According to Egerö the term *co-housing* has no commonly agreed meaning. Egerö, *Puzzling Patterns*. In Denmark the term "kollektiv," which I translate as "commune," generally denotes a collective household, whereas "bofællesskab," which I translate as "co-housing," can also include a group of single family homes with shared facilities.

6 Bodil Graae: "Børn skal have Hundrede Forældre," *Politiken* (Copenhagen, April 1967) in Egerö, *Puzzling Patterns*.

7 Bella Marckmann, *Hverdagslivets kritik: Økosamfund i Danmark* (PhD diss., Copenhagen: Museum Tusculanum, 2009).

8 Translations of all interviews are by the author.

9 Ole Mansfeldt, *The Inbetweenness of Tourist Experiences* (Industrial PhD diss., Royal Danish Academy of Fine Arts, Schools of Architecture, Design and Conservation, School of Design, 2015).

10 Cf. Lisa Gansky, *The Mesh: Why the Future of Business is Sharing* (New York: Portfolio/Penguin, 2010).

11 In older villages, a window mirror— a small mirror attached outside the window—allows the resident inside to observe life on the street.12 Raahauge, "Ved vejen," 31. Translation by author.

13 Ibid., 34.

14 Cf. Setha Low, "The Edge and the Center: Gated Communities and the Discourse of Urban Fear," *American Anthropologist Association* 103(1) (2001): 45–58.

15 Raahauge, "Ved vejen," 43.

16 Ibid., 34.

17 The concept of identity is contested and can have many different meanings. In architecture and urban planning identity is often understood as a positive quality that a place can have or lack: It is what distinguishes it from other places. In an anthropological perspective identity is often held to be relational and socially and culturally constructed. It has to do with the characteristics distinguishing one from the others, as well as with the common characteristics that a group associates with or are associated with by others.

18 The remarkable branding of the 8-house is also key here. Several residents thus mention how the media have shown pictures of the architect as well as the crown prince bicycling on the path of the 8-house. Today

architectural tourists can still be seen biking the steep "mountain path" in spite of signboards prohibiting bicycling.

19 Lange Eng was allowed an exemption to let the building meet the boundary of the cadastre. In return, they had to ensure sufficient public accessible open space within the complex.

20 Low, "The Edge and the Center."

21 Ibid., 58.

22 Quite the contrary, actually: Lange Eng is located next door to a prison.

23 In Denmark the privet hedge is a common symbol for the petit-bourgeois suburban life style. Whereas suburbs were originally created as an attractive and healthier alternative to urban life the discourse has changed and suburbs are now described as going through an identity crisis. See Danielsen, "Kunsten at klinke."

24 Marianne Gullestad, "The Scandinavian Version of Egalitarian Individualism," *Ethnologia Scandinavia* 21 (1991); Thorkild Ærø, *Boligpræferencer, boligvalg og livsstil* (PhD diss., Danish Building Research Institute, 2002).

25 Gullestad, "The Scandinavian Version," 9.

26 Ibid., 13.

27 Anna Klingmann, *Brandscapes: Architecture in the Experience Economy* (Cambridge MA: MIT Press, 2007).

28 I find the concept of brandscapes very useful for understanding new developments in architecture, but I am hesitant about Klingmann's point that brandscapes may provide an authentic identity for people and places; see Klingmann, *Brandscapes*, 3. For a more thorough discussion of the concept, see Marie Stender, *Nye steder med liv og sjæl? Stedskabelse i tre danske boligbyggerier* (PhD diss., Aalborg: Aalborg University Press, 2014).

29 Thomas Aagaard Skovmand ed., *Slipset—en bog om Ørestad* (Copenhagen: Byens Forlag 2011).

30 This is possibly also due to the extensive branding of the 8-house, where the building owner invested massively in creating a sense of urban life even before people moved in. A café and gallery was opened, not to sell coffee and art, but to sell the flats of the 8-house. Concerts and exhibitions were arranged all integrating the number 8: "Project 8," "Club 8," with 8 musicians and 8 artists form 8 international academies and so on. See Marie Stender, "The Overdesigned and the Undesigned: Placemaking in New Residential Complexes," *Artifact Journal of Design Research* (forthcoming).

31 Richard Florida, *The Rise of the Creative Class: And How It's Transforming Work, Leisure, Community and Everyday Life* (New York: Basic Books, 2002).